Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

177 179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
439 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
[441] been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[412] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[301] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[291] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
287 cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
314 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
411 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
412 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

226
231
286
291
301
342
343
372
411
412
435
439
534
535
764
765
791

/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

*192
386
824
171
[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galuːtu (Koch-Grünberg; = karuːtu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

*192 181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-
*197 used wild variety of Genipa americana.
386

Red —

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nnn-te. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "annatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana riku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberō. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[824]

● [439] 184. kurawōri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberō, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302] 185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f. Thread, fiber, etc.
283

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[197] 188. Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimuˀ. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 200. Mirror — unamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

[278] 201. Cigar — tamõi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

[407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their
*197 412 names appear to be native.

● 439 206. *Knife (steel) — mariːa. Taurepán, tawcra. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasuːpara.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.

*197 342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapũi. Taurepán, õuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapəi). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the õuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapũi that are õuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, monta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 342 209. House with walls — tapũi-timeakɛn.

210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)

211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛn.

212. — without walls — wata-imedapun.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalabœso. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalabœso is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analysis]

*192 [231] kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] oro, woro? [439]	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapɔra and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
unamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulũ-kulũ	file
kõroitoko	chicken

101 may be distinguishable as another such group.[93] Probably the Arekuna vocab-
*197 ulary of Koch-Grünberg represents still another local group and dialect.[94]

*197 Among adequately known Carib languages, Makuchi is certainly the closest to Arekuna. It is, as would be expected from the geographic relationship, more similar to Taurepán than to Kamarakoto. Makuchi and Taurepán are, indeed, so much alike that they might almost be considered dialects of one language, although it is more convenient and can be justified on a balance of various considerations to classify them in different languages.[95]

*197 Next in order of resemblance is the dialect called Ingariko by Koch-
101 Grünberg, which, as he points out, is not properly a linguistic or tribal name. It means simply "forest dwellers" and the forest Indians northeast of Roroima for whom he uses this name may be a branch of the Akawais and the language a dialect of Akawai. In any case, it is closer to Arekuna than is true or typical Akawai. The latter may be placed next in order of resemblance, along with Purukoto. Sapara and Wayumara, languages and tribes of Brazil, at the southeastern margin of the Arekuna area and near the Purukotos, are rapidly waning and may even be extinct now. These languages are definitely less like Arekuna than is Purukoto but still are recognizably related.

*197 The poorly known language Krishana and the likewise poorly known and now extinct Paravilhana, both spoken farther south in Brazil, may perhaps be taken as the most distant and least closely allied (to Kamarakoto) of this general group of languages, scattered over a great expanse with Roroima more or less in the center.

Maquiritare, with its four or more dialects, differs more from Arekuna than do the languages just mentioned and may conveniently be placed in a
● [489 separate group. Kamarakotos who have traded with the Pabanaton, as they
101] call the Maquiritares, informed me that the language of the latter is quite incomprehensible to a Kamarakoto.

Other Carib languages are still more distant in relationships, although all those of what is called the "Main Division" in the classification given above have definite similarities and even occasional identical words.

[10] The Kamarakotos are surrounded by other Carib tribes on all sides and their remote valleys are almost in the geographic center of the far-flung distribution of this great family of Indians. Their dialect is certainly one of the purest known. Carib studies have not progressed far enough to reconstruct a proto-Carib or to identify the real root forms of words in the strictest sense, but there is some reason to believe that Kamarakoto is also a relatively primitive and undegenerate form of Carib. Its sharp and forceful articulation, in contrast even with Taurepán and still more so with many more distant dialects, suggests the retention of strong forms of words that elsewhere have often been slurred and simplified. Of course, among contemporaneous dialects it is never possible to construct a scale from the most primitive to the most advanced or

93-95 [see footnotes on pp. 317-18, category 116 — Analyst]

prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out, and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

The darts (kunwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare, kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver, möiyë, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax, moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiⁿ, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiⁿ, is attached to the top of quiver.

[see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [144] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [262] 423 [324] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi[?] in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[171] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoi' piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[171] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be described in detail. The roots, kōsɛ, are first scraped with a knife and then
252 412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangõi? is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangõi? and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangai? (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard. To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs. This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwõ.

There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any being used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p 321, category 116 – Analyst]

Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yɛ', a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil. From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.

The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

[see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

284
286

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 413 177 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this respect only by the amaːtu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarakotos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Kamarakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare) origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas, Warraus, Akawais, Makuchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished tray, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Makuchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matuːtu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

154 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 – Analysis]

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
● [439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ'?) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nordenskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekumas.

501 171 [114]

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akai' and koatai' (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai , is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akai' (or koatai') was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akai' and koatai' may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p. 213]

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to?-esa? as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to?-esa? as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[437] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to?-esa? for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
● 439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[482] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

●439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare o:apa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balata and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of inter-tribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
[177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[172] [291] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekumas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 435 171 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be amiss here. A few groups of Indians who have had most contact with traders and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles, and beads. [822] Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 437 [123] Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analyst]

000 happier and materially more comfortable than the average man in the civilized parts of Venezuela and that the Indian would be unwise voluntarily to adopt the mode of life of the latter.

511 [235] Poverty is unknown in Kamarakoto society because each household can readily secure by its own reasonable efforts almost everything that it needs not only to sustain but also to enjoy life. Native skill and industry are such that almost none of the imports are absolute necessities, and these too can easily be [439] acquired. A household may over a period of years need a couple of knives and machetes, a dozen fishhooks, five or six meters of cloth, and a half kilo or so of beads to fill all its requirements and desires beyond what it can supply itself. There is no household so poor that it cannot obtain these few objects.

000 But when people have to buy most of what they use, poverty becomes possible and inevitable. An Indian who must wear purchased clothing, instead of making his scantier native garments, who cannot build a house without a saw, hammer, and nails, who must buy saucepans instead of making clay pots, who requires bags and chests and the like because he cannot weave baskets, who must buy a bed because he cannot make a hammock, who, in short, depends on imported substitutes for what his ancestors made for themselves — such an Indian becomes poor almost automatically. In the first place, and specifically in this region, the supply of such things is not adequate even if their purchase price were available. The Indian who depends on them must thus lower his standard of living materially below the aboriginal level if he does not have the aboriginal skills.

This is the first point on which a concrete suggestion as to the guidance of the social trend in the region can be made: not to permit an Indian to become dependent on anything with which he is not reasonably sure to be adequately supplied for the rest of his life. For instance, not to tell him that it is immoral to go without trousers, if he is not certain to be able to buy another pair when those he has wear out, or not to teach him how to build a house only with European tools, if he is going to live where he will be unable to get such tools. 238

Even when sufficient supplies of manufactured articles are available, which is decidedly not true anywhere in this region today but perhaps will be eventually, the Indian is impoverished by their very variety. He desires more of them than he did of his own less varied products. This is supposed to raise the standard of living. It is only reasonable to doubt whether it makes for greater happiness or well-being, but this question is purely academic since the stimulation of desire does occur and can hardly be controlled in any way. In practice the result may really be not a raising but a lowering of the general standard of living, not only because relatively unnecessary objects may be obtained in preference to necessities, but also and mainly because the Indian is not now spending his labor directly and efficiently on his own scale of living, but is using it for trade in an open market against workmen of still lower standards and to pay

236 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 — Analysis]

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "ts ɵ?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[123] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[192] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.

[For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analysis]

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Amí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe